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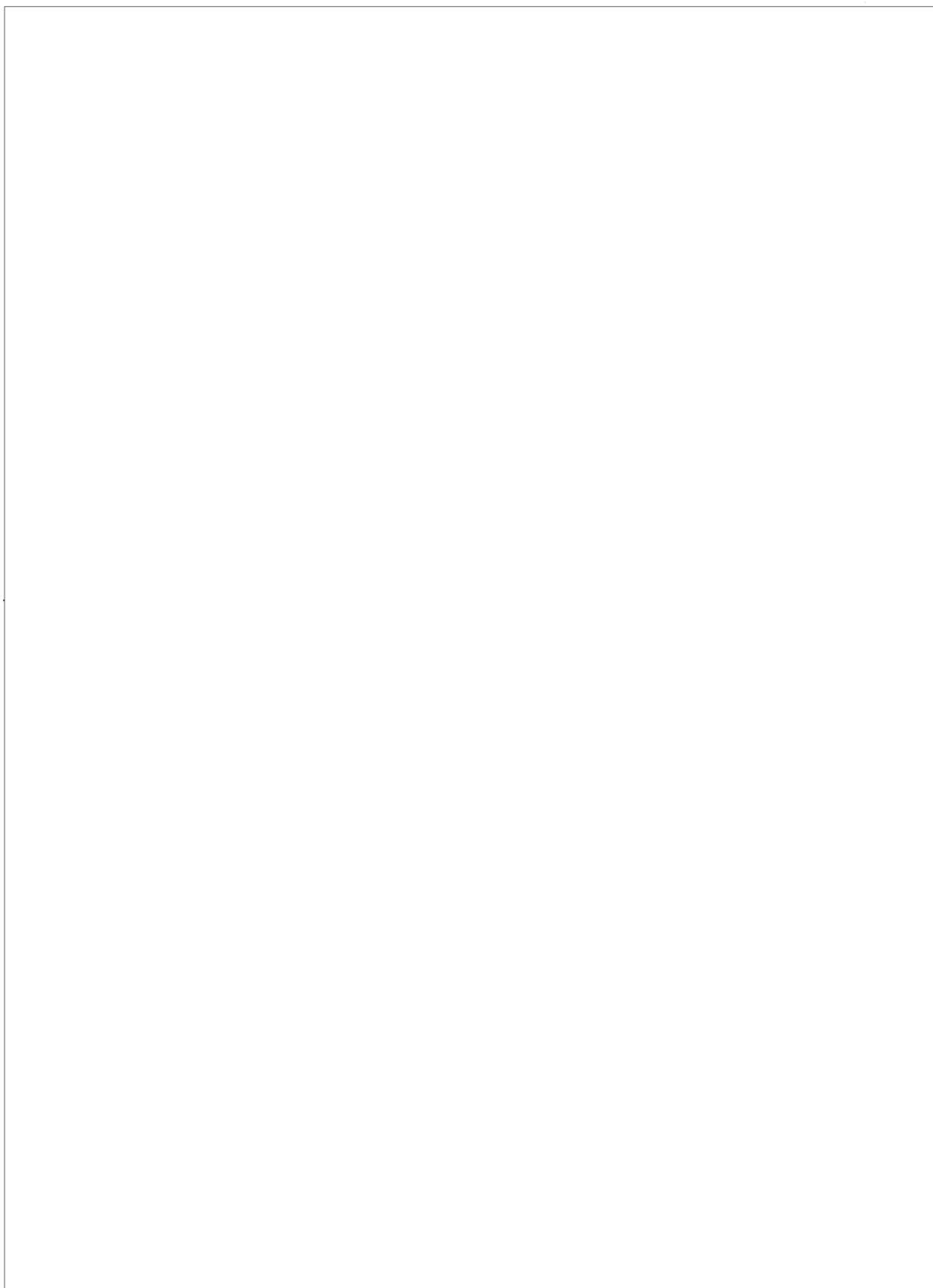
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### Reaction in Western Europe

The EC Commission has suspended ratification of the trade and cooperation agreement with Romania. The treaty had already been delayed for several months, ostensibly for "technical" reasons but in fact out of widespread concern in the Community over the slow pace of political and economic reform in Romania. The EC also is suspending consideration of extending the Group of 24 aid program to Romania.

The EC foreign ministers are to meet on Monday and probably will condemn the violence. Even the French, who have been supportive of the National Salvation Front in the past, appear to be losing patience. The British Government was quick to criticize the use of the miners to restore order.

The violence in Romania was raised yesterday at the CSCE conference on human rights in Copenhagen, although it will be difficult to obtain any strong censure of Bucharest at the CSCE meeting because unanimity is required.

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**ROMANIA:**

**Iliescu in a Corner**

*President Iliescu's reliance on brutal mobs of miners to cow antiregime protesters appears to be weakening his support across a broad spectrum of society.*

Iliescu's actions have alienated his important trade union constituency. One labor leader told Prime Minister Roman his members were anxious to battle the miners and could not be restrained indefinitely. Most workers supported their union leaders' calls to avoid becoming involved in proregime violence. At one factory only 60 out of 18,000 workers entered buses the government provided to take them to Bucharest. The pressmen's union rescinded its threat to stop printing opposition publications, declaring it had been made out of fear of the miners.

Iliescu's support in the military may be in jeopardy. Media reports indicate many officers and troops are angered by the miners' violence, the dissolution of reformist military organizations, and the forced use of the military to give logistic support to the miners.

**Comment:** Iliescu's actions may leave him vulnerable to a popular backlash or military intervention. Outrage over the miners' actions may produce new demonstrations against the government, possibly with broad support in Bucharest. The military's response will be crucial; it might refuse to support Iliescu if faced with another popular uprising and might even move to topple him.

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### Chronology of Protest Against the Mukachevo Radar

- Public protests against the large phased-array radar site near Mukachevo coalesced in January because of widespread concern about potential radiation hazards and fear that the site would pollute the groundwater. The leadership of the Transcarpathian Oblast voted to halt construction of the radar.
- In February the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet demanded suspension of all work on the radar site until an expert study of environmental and health risks was completed.
- In April the experts' commission, headed by academician Yevgeniy Velikhov, said the radar posed considerable risks and recommended construction be stopped.
- Assertions that construction was continuing prompted residents to hold demonstrations, to organize a general strike, and even to send a letter to President Gorbachev—reportedly unanswered—to protest military actions.
- On Monday oblast officials ordered police to prevent any more construction materials or equipment from reaching the site.

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USSR:

**Environmentalists Confront Military**

*Environmentalists are increasingly challenging Soviet military installations and activities they see as environmentally harmful.*

On Monday officials in the western Ukraine, pressed by grassroots demands, sent police to halt construction of the Mukachevo ballistic missile early warning radar. Protests have already forced the military to spend millions of rubles cleaning up environmental damage in Latvia, to close the Chapayevsk chemical weapons destruction plant in the Russian Republic, and to stop testing nuclear weapons at Semipalatinsk in Kazakhstan while national leaders debate the site's future.

Environmental activism has caused local and republic leaders to restrict military activities. Last month, after a prolonged series of demonstrations, the Kazakh legislature voted to close Semipalatinsk. Although environmental activism remains essentially local, its success in getting the military to act has led some nationalists, especially in the Baltic republics, to use the environmental cause to advance their own agendas.

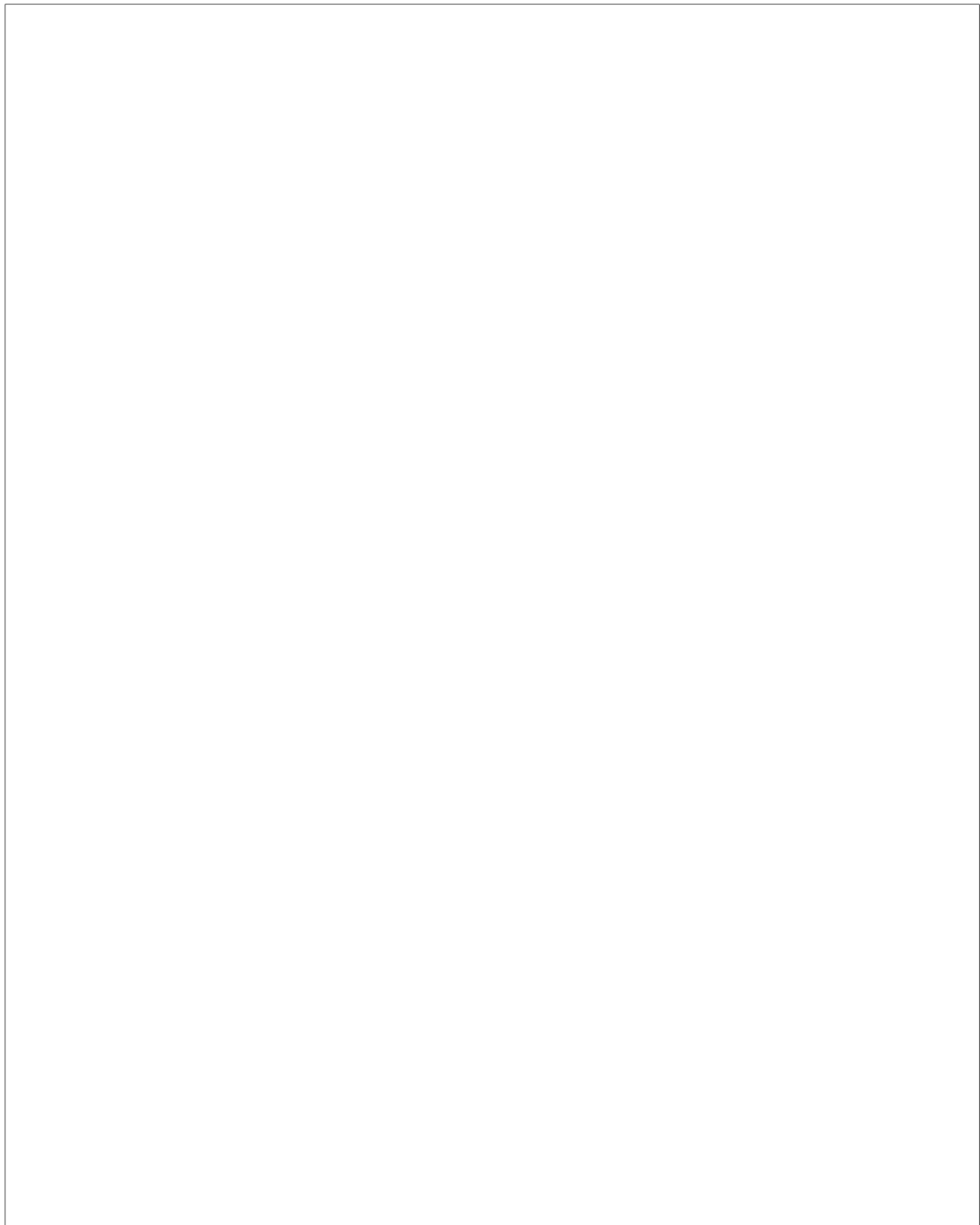
Military appeals to the public to subordinate environmental demands to national security, to the need to maintain strategic parity with the US, or to treaty obligations to reduce chemical weapons have failed to sway citizens increasingly skeptical that national security outweighs local environmental costs.

**Comment:** Local and republic legislative moves give weight to grassroots demands and undoubtedly will make it even harder for the military to avoid addressing environmental pressures. Local leaders' willingness to use police to close down the Mukachevo site might presage other confrontations between local officials and the military over environmental problems.

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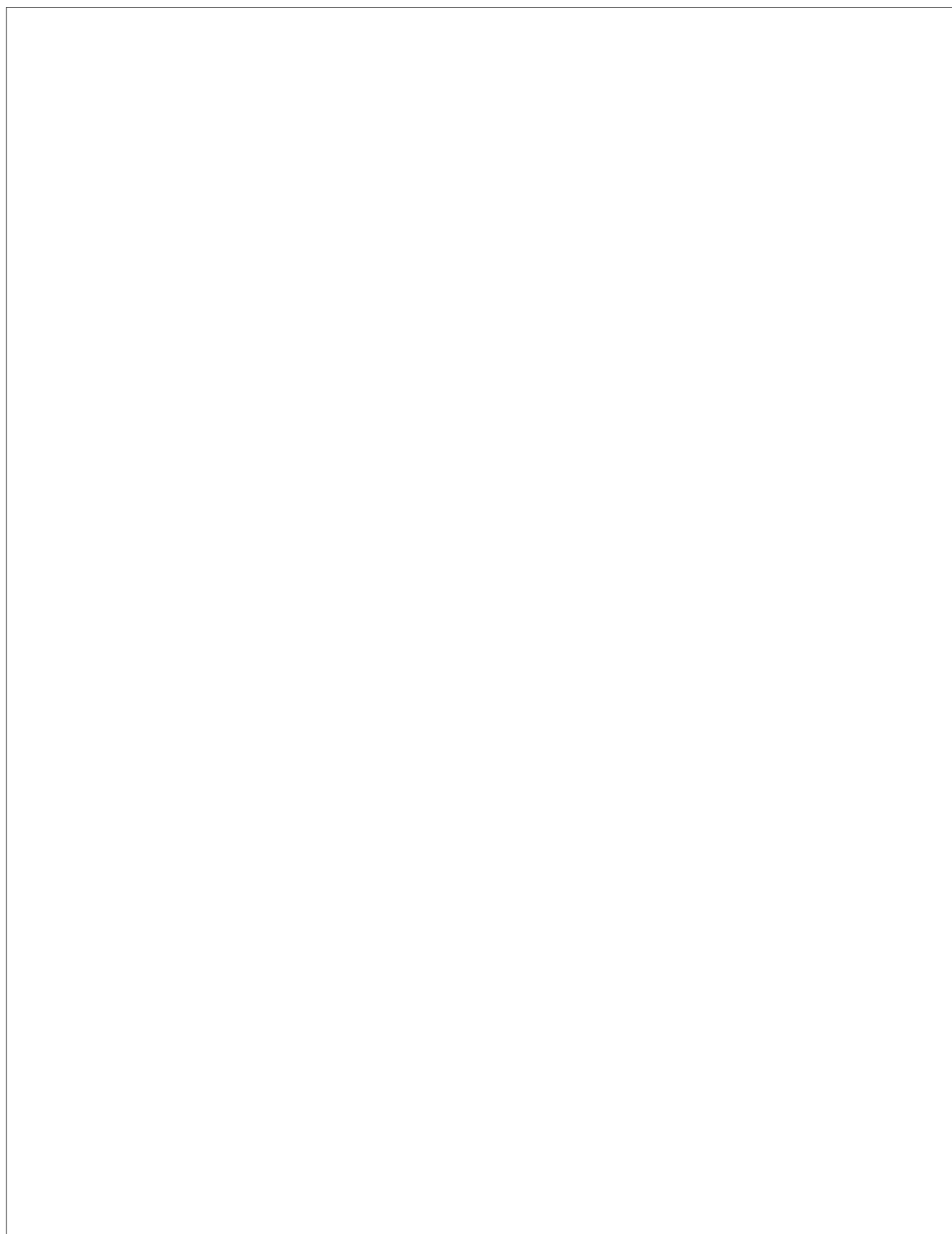


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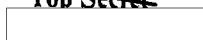
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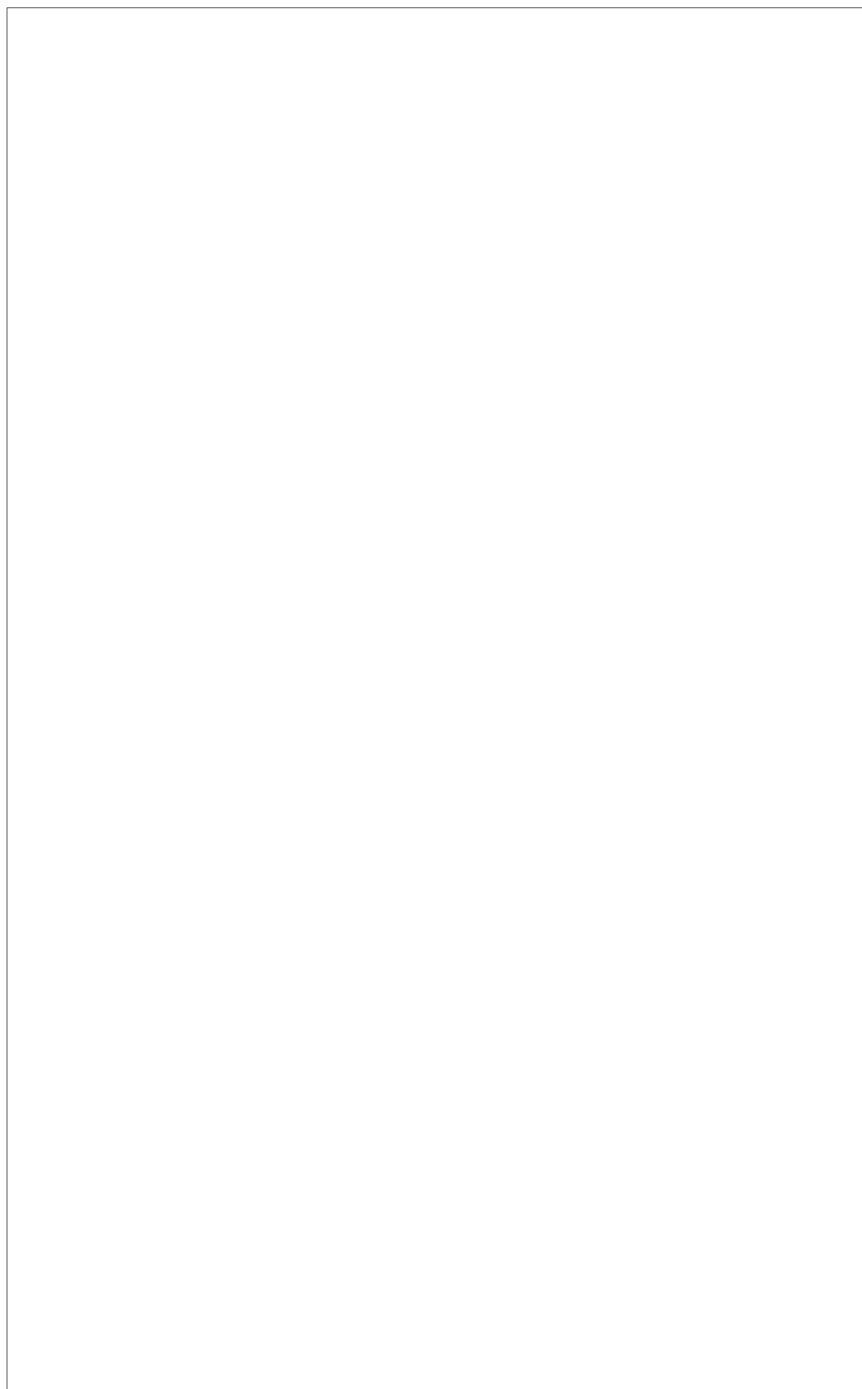


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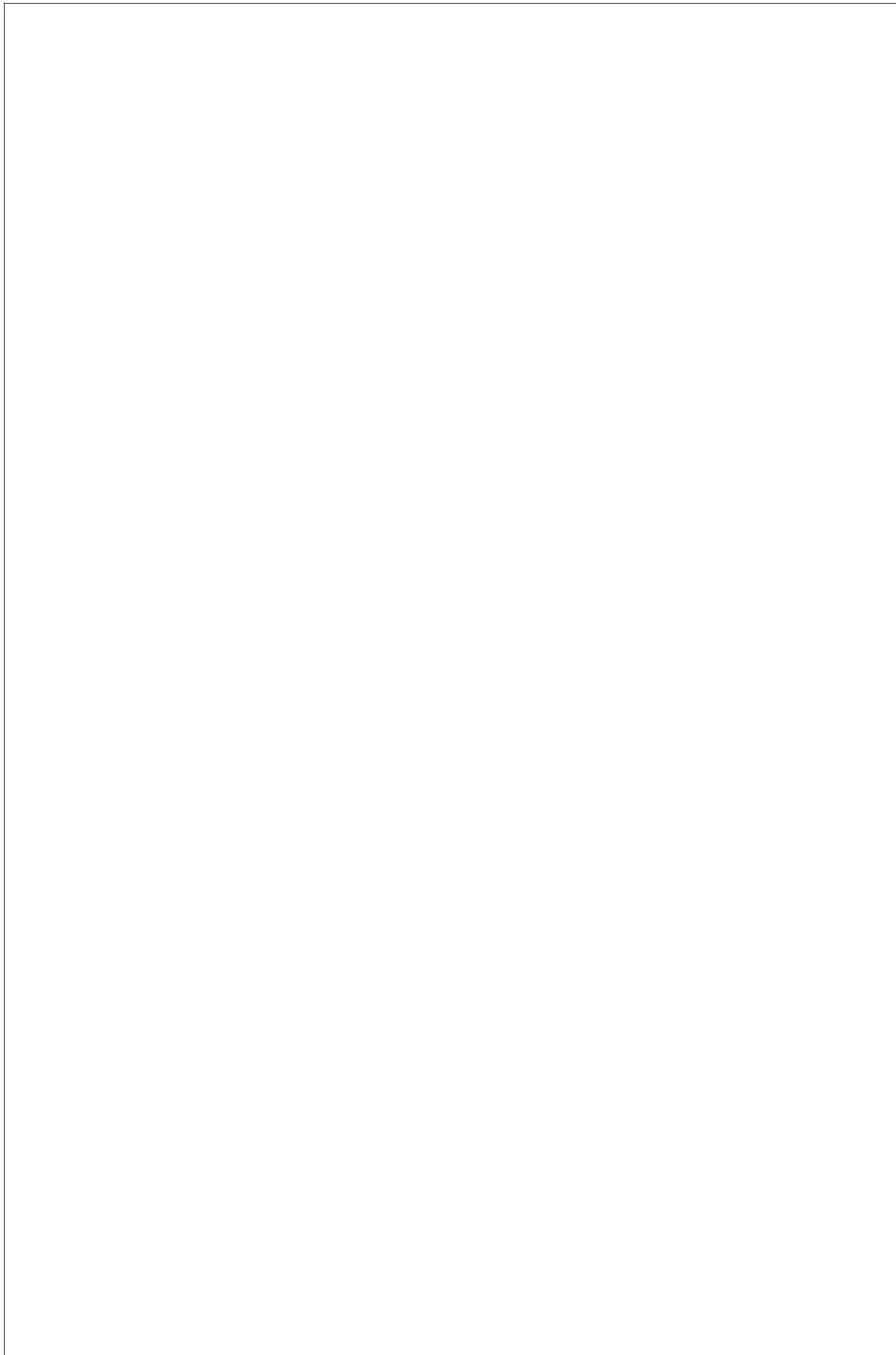


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~~Top Secret~~**IRAN-UK: Hardliners Frustrating Restoration of Relations**

President Rafsanjani has indicated that Tehran is interested in improving relations with London despite domestic Iranian opposition to making concessions to the UK. Last weekend, the progovernment *Tehran Times* called recent statements of respect for Islam by Prime Minister Thatcher and Foreign Secretary Hurd "a great stride toward normalization of ties."

For the past month hardline Iranian newspapers have insisted that London apologize for publishing Salman Rushdie's book before relations can be restored; last week Supreme Leader Khamenei repeated demands for Rushdie's death.

**Comment:** Rafsanjani almost certainly would like to bypass the controversy over Rushdie and improve diplomatic and economic relations with London but appears not to have a free hand to do so. The *Tehran Times* article, which Rafsanjani probably inspired, may have been an attempt to appear flexible in the hope of influencing the EC foreign ministers, who are to meet on Monday, to consider lifting sanctions. Although the Foreign Office would like to normalize ties, London has little hope for near-term improvement.

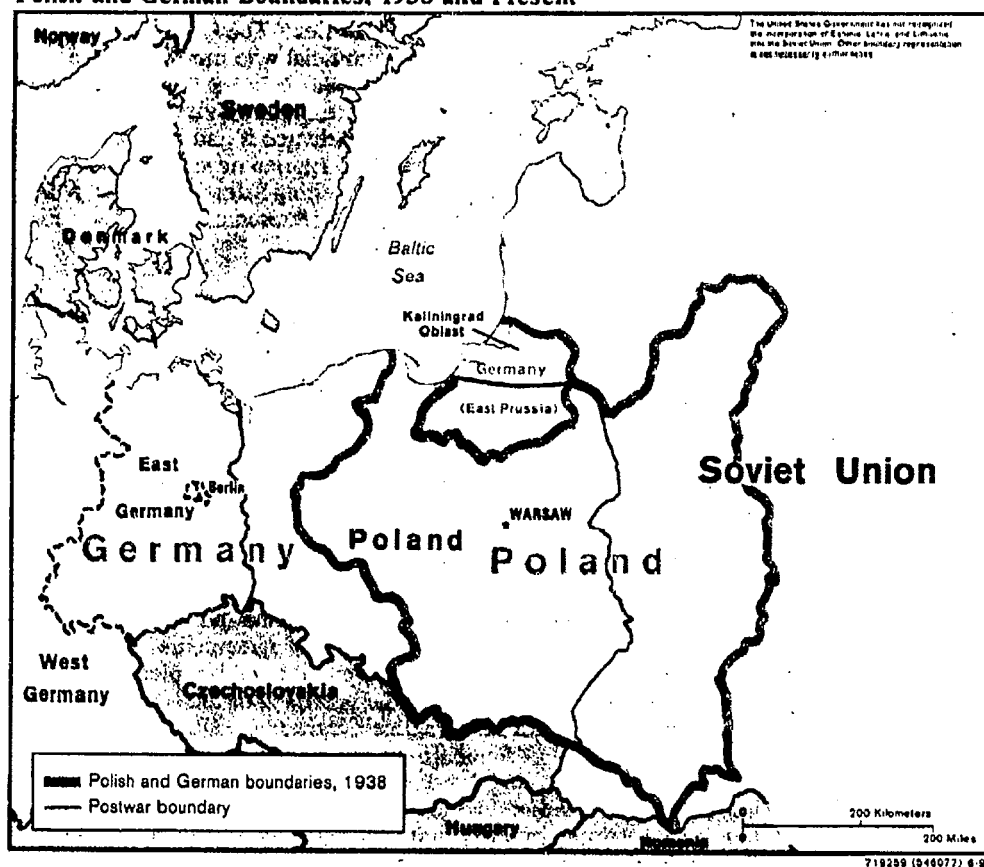
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# Polish and German Boundaries, 1938 and Present

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~~Top Secret~~**POLAND: Fears of German, Soviet Designs**

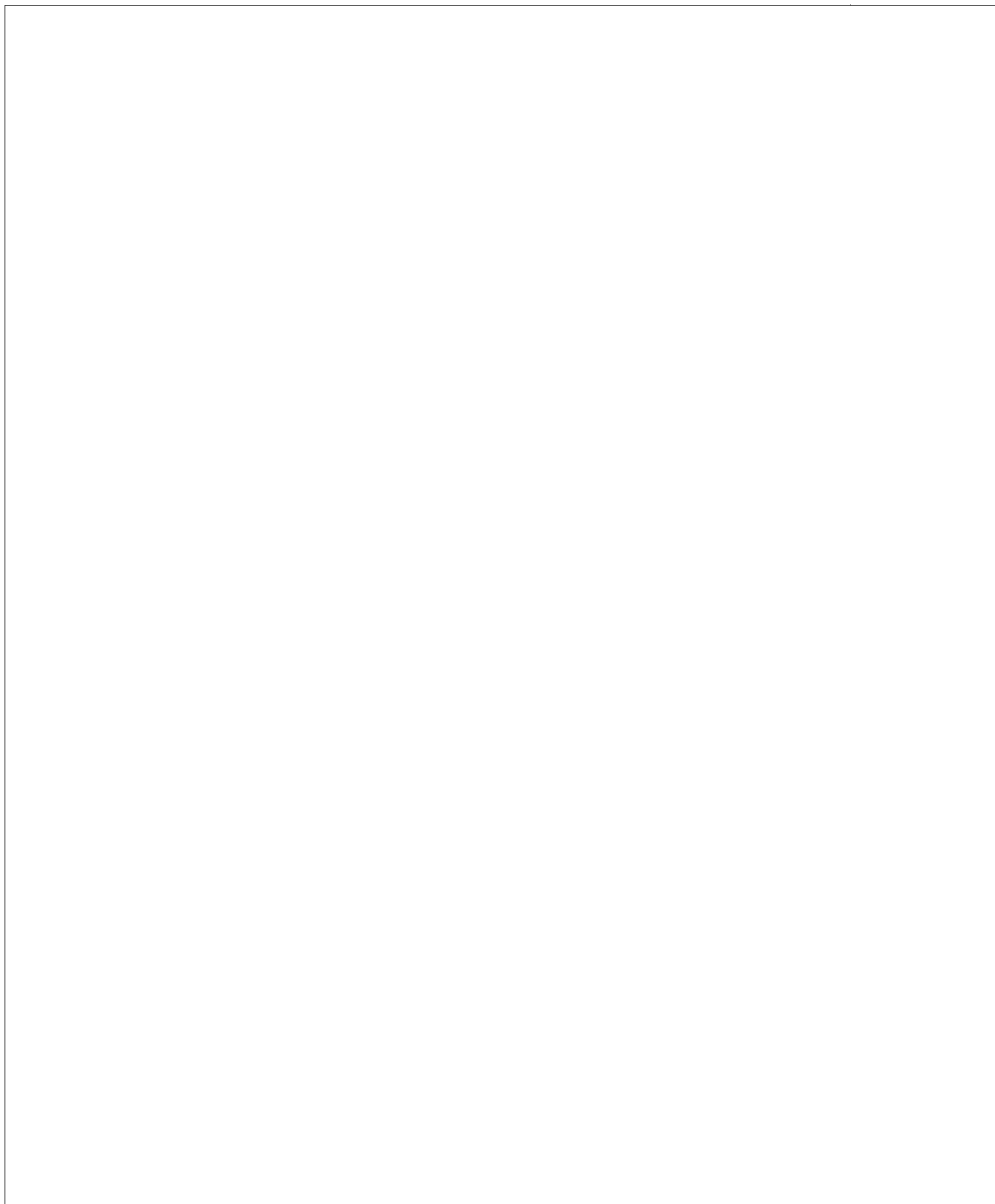
The meeting of the Soviet and West German Foreign Minister this week has fanned Poles' concern that their territory is once again up for discussion. Speculation is rife in Poland that Bonn and Moscow discussed a plan to gather ethnic Germans from throughout the USSR and resettle them in the Russian Republic exclave Kaliningrad, a former portion of East Prussia now wedged between Poland and Lithuania. According to the rumors, Kaliningrad would become a free enterprise zone funded by West German capital; the zone then would inevitably seek a land corridor across Poland to supply sources in Germany. Meanwhile, East German Finance Minister Romberg this week proposed a German-Polish economic zone along the border, adding fuel to rumors that German businesses want to concentrate investments in former German territories now in western Poland.

**Comment:** Poles remain deeply suspicious of German intentions and fear backdoor attempts to change postwar borders. Although the reports are almost certainly distorted, they sow distrust in Poland and make Warsaw even more inflexible in the two-plus-four talks. There is a growing conviction among Poles that Prime Minister Mazowiecki needs to pursue more vigorously efforts to create regional structures and alliances that will safeguard Polish territory from potential German machinations, or worse, Soviet-German collusion.

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~~Top Secret~~**In Brief****USSR**

- Russian Republic legislature yesterday chose traditionalist over Yel'tsin-backed radical reformer as premier . . . Yel'tsin brokered second-round selection in conciliatory move . . . will complicate Yel'tsin's, other radicals' efforts to push radical reforms.

- Communist Party secretary Ligachev has said concessions by leadership causing USSR to disintegrate . . . vowed to continue opposition . . . increasingly blunt challenge to Gorbachev suggests he will seek showdown at party congress next month.

- USSR Civil Defense chief General Govorov signed civil defense agreement with France . . . calls for information exchange, joint training, assistance . . . part of Soviet effort to improve performance in coping with peacetime disasters.

**East Asia**

- Indonesia's aid donors Thursday agreed to provide \$4.5 billion Jakarta seeking for coming year . . . World Bank, Asian Development Bank, Japan contributing \$3.8 billion . . . aid nearly equals principal payments on foreign debt.

- North Korea further postponing dialogue with South Korea to protest President Roh's effort to have Soviet President Gorbachev press P'yongyang to reform . . . probably reminding Moscow, Seoul it must be dealt with on own terms.

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~~Top Secret~~**Middle East**

— EC political directors recommending Commission establish office in occupied territories . . . irritated with Israel, want closer ties to Palestinians, greater EC role in peace process if US-PLO dialogue breaks down.

— PLO radio station says USSR has pressed Arafat to denounce PLF attack on Israel . . . Moscow trying to preserve PLO moderation, US-PLO dialogue . . . Soviets may appeal to radical factions to cease attacks.

**Europe**

— Danish Foreign Minister Ellemann-Jensen has invited Baltic states to open offices in Copenhagen . . . promised financial support . . . would be first presence in Western Europe since independence declarations.

— Dutch fear united Germany more than USSR, recent poll shows . . . most favor maintaining defense spending, US troops in Europe . . . suggests public wants NATO for stability despite declining Soviet threat.

**Africa**

— South African white extremists plan antigovernment march today—anniversary of Soweto riots—in Welkom . . . center of racial violence despite increased security . . . organizers goading blacks to try to disrupt event, clashes likely.

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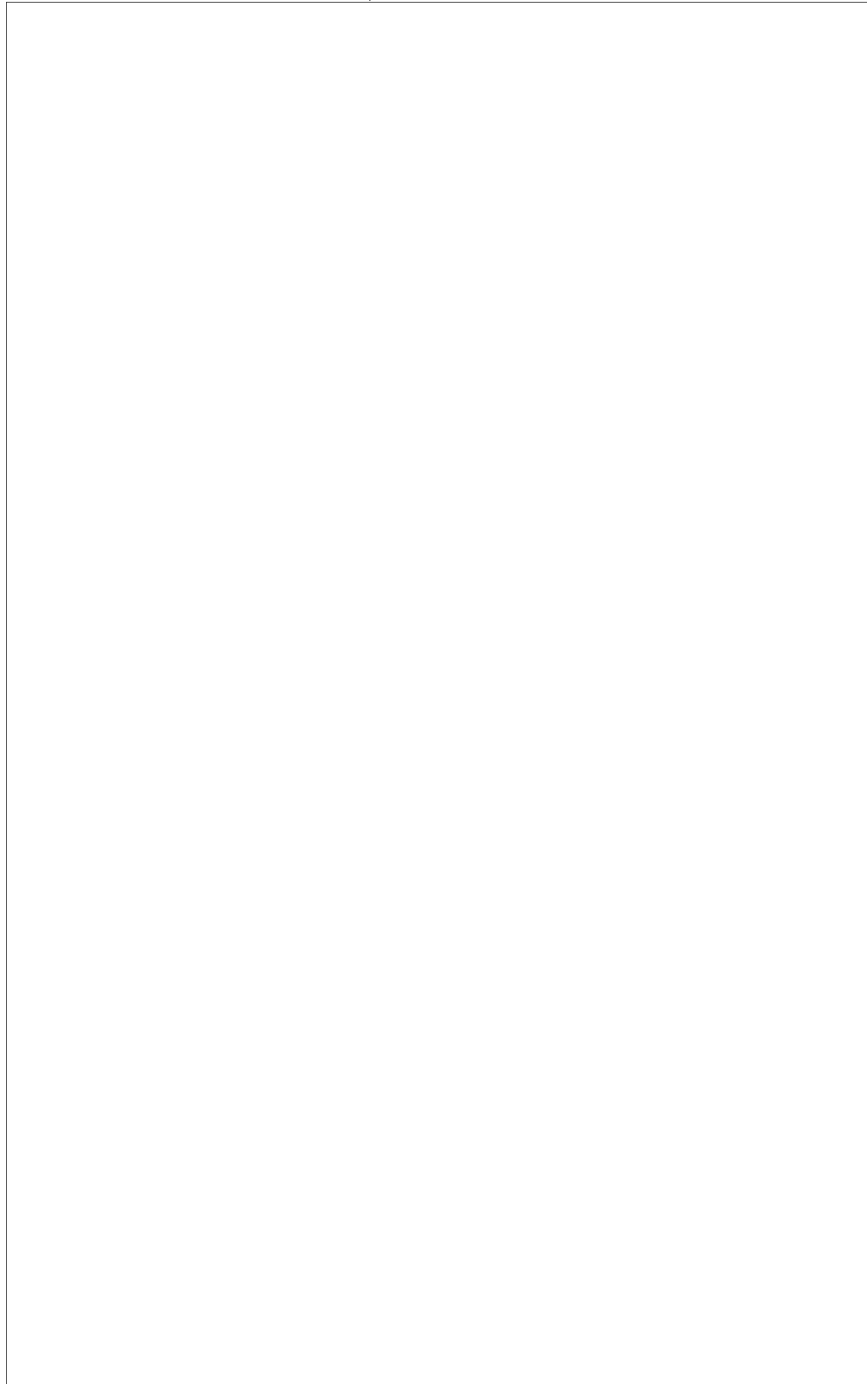


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~~Top Secret~~**USSR: Major Human Rights Legislation Under Consideration**

Key Provisions	Problem Areas
<b>Emigration Law</b>	
Invitation no longer needed; foreign entry permit required.	Applicants cannot be denied exit permission more than five years after access to state secrets ends, but unclear if this will benefit those already refused.
Fewer grounds for relatives to block emigration.	Problem of exchanging rubles for hard currency still under debate.
All citizens, except those under criminal investigation, may receive a foreign passport valid for five years.	The department of visas and registration cannot handle volume of applications.
<b>Religion Law</b>	
Lifts bans on the performance of religious rites and public worship.	Does not end the state's oversight of religion through continuing requirement for religious congregations to register and obtain official permission.
Legalizes religious education, and gives citizens the right to follow their religious beliefs.	
Allows religious organizations to produce, export, import, and disseminate religious publications.	
<b>Law on Public Associations</b>	
Ten or more citizens can form an association.	Law does not address current practices of arbitrary registration or legal recourse when appeal is denied.
Associations must register with the Justice Ministry.	Group members may not receive revenues from the group, but unclear if this prohibits support for electoral candidates, hiring support personnel.
Rejection of charter can be appealed.	Law forbids groups with political goals from receiving support from foreign groups, a blow to independent trade unions.
Associations may own property.	
<b>Law on the Press</b>	
Outlaws press censorship and guarantees the media's right to gain access to state information.	In areas of entrenched party power, the party's influence on the media may not easily disappear.
Forbids state from interfering in editorial decisionmaking.	
Rights for "victims" of the press (slander/libel) are guaranteed.	

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### Special Analysis

USSR:

#### Human Rights Legislation Progressing Slowly

*Draft legislation under review in Moscow will, if fully implemented, substantially expand Soviet civil liberties. President Gorbachev and Soviet reformers are hoping that human rights legislation will improve citizens' morale and raise the regime's credibility with the West.*

The Supreme Soviet has been considering laws to expand citizens' rights to travel freely, emigrate, publish, form public associations, and worship without hindrance; it passed the press law on Tuesday. Battles between traditionalists favoring narrowly focused, explicit language and reformists who have fought for more liberal provisions have slowed progress. The press law was delayed as democratic reformers in the Supreme Soviet proposed more progressive versions. Recently, legislation dealing with economic reforms has taken priority.

The drafts on religion and public associations, which received preliminary approval on 30 May, have bogged down as various special interest groups push for their versions. Discussion of the emigration draft, which is likely to be put on the docket in September when the Supreme Soviet reconvenes, has dragged on as deputies question the economic costs of the legislation and worry about a possible brain drain. The leadership probably could have pushed the bill through late last month but may have delayed because of Arab anger over Jewish emigration and because it believed US Congressional concern about Lithuania would block early granting of most-favored-nation trade status.

#### Regime Motives

Gorbachev early on pushed for the new laws to gain support for his policies. He probably believed that legalizing *glasnost*, greater civic participation, and protection from official arbitrariness would galvanize support for *perestroyka*.

More recently the regime has tried to codify the changes already occurring in Soviet society: thousands of independent groups and political organizations are flourishing, religious believers have become stronger politically, and the number of publications of all viewpoints has mushroomed. Interethnic violence and fears of antisemitism have sharply increased the demand for emigration. Furthermore, Gorbachev probably now sees this legislation as important to defusing public frustration with economic shortages and shoring up his declining popularity.

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### **Moscow Walks International Tightrope on Emigration**

Moscow may make some gesture to back up President Gorbachev's recent threats to consider suspending Jewish emigration but is unlikely to severely restrict the flow of Jewish emigrants.

Since raising the issue at the press conference in Washington on 3 June, Gorbachev has twice reiterated that Moscow may consider postponing Jewish emigration if Israel does not heed Soviet and US concerns about its settlement practices. Speaking to the Supreme Soviet this week he underscored US and Soviet opposition to new Jewish settlements beyond Israel's 1967 borders and said the USSR might temporarily suspend exit visas for Jewish citizens until Israel offered "appropriate" assurances.

although the Soviets would not cut off emigration, they might further restrict travel to Israel. Moscow may consider changing the procedure of issuing exit visas specifically for travel to Israel and require instead that Soviet Jews obtain exit visas to other countries and from there travel to Israel. To avoid a strong reaction from the US, the Soviets are unlikely to go beyond half measures in changing their stance on Jewish emigration.

To the extent that Arabs conclude that Moscow is more concerned about preserving US-Soviet ties and seeking better relations with Tel Aviv than addressing Arab concerns, Moscow will have difficulty projecting itself as a responsible mediator and moderating influence in the Middle East.

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### **Making Strides**

Passage of these laws would give reformers assurance that emerging freedoms will be protected by law and no longer depend on the whims of bureaucrats or political leaders. Problems of implementation, however, will persist. Procedural legislation will be needed to define criminal action and stipulate penalties. Entrenched bureaucrats could put up any number of obstacles. The press law, for example, might not prevent them from using paper shortages as a pretext to close down publications.

The degree to which recent reforms granting judges and courts more independence take hold will be even more critical. Continued corruption of the courts could significantly hinder progress. Although a law passed recently is designed to strengthen the court system and eliminate the party's pervasive influence in deciding cases, lawmakers worry that it might take years before such practices end.

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